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Mikháil Románov a descendant of Iván (p. 65), and as saying (p. 161) that Alexéi Mikháilovich intrusted the work of revising the sacred books to Maxim the Greek (who lived a full century earlier), and that serfdom was instituted about the middle of the seventeenth century, whereas the decisive steps were taken in 1507. The mention (p. 88) of "the struggle with the Turks (1736-1739), peace with whom Anna after losing 100,ooo men obtained through the mediation of France," does not convey a correct impression of a war where the Russian arms met with nearly uniform success even if the treaty of peace was unsatisfactory. For what possible reason in the previous sentence is Augustus II. called "Auguste"? He was not a Frenchman, but a German named "August," which is also the Polish way of spelling the name. Finally let us charitably assume that it was a slip of the pen which caused (p. 118) Constantine and Nicholas to be described as the sons instead of the brothers of Alexander I. As for the last chapter, "The Future of Russia," its various conclusions and prophecies need not detain us.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

Surveys, Historic and Economic. By W. J. Ashley, M.A., Professor of Economic History in Harvard University. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1900. Pp. xxvii, 476.)

To those who have followed Mr. Ashley's scattered contributions to the periodicals, this collection of his minor writings will bring little that is unfamiliar. About two-thirds of its contents have appeared in various economic journals. One-half the remainder is from the pages of The Nation or THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. Less than one-eighth of the whole is now printed for the first time. The subjects treated range from "English Serfdom" to "Harvard Scholarships," and from "The Canadian Sugar Combine" to "The Tory Origin of Free Trade." But the book, in spite of its superficial diversities, has elements of essential unity. It is informed by a vigorous personality, it is dominated by definite convictions, and it faces in the direction in which much historical work is now looking. "We who concern ourselves with economic history," declares the author, "have with us the current of the world's The period of constitution-making which followed the French Revolution produced its political historians, its Guizots and Hallams and Grotes. The centuries following the Reformation show an imposing procession of historians of the Church. "Precisely in the same way the pressure of modern economic problems is certain to produce, has already begun to produce, a whole literature of economic history." Of the extent and character of much of this literature, Mr. Ashley's Surveys afford a good indication. Out of his forty-five articles over thirty are reviews—some of them elaborate reviews—of recent works dealing with economic history. Indeed not more than ten of the whole number appear to be altogether independent of some specific book.

The essays and reviews thus brought together Mr. Ashley has arranged in eight "well-marked groups" entitled: (1) Preliminaries (already

quoted from—these include his inaugural lecture at Harvard), (2) Medieval Agrarian, (3) Medieval Urban, (4) Economic Opinion, (5) England and America, 1660-1760, (6) Industrial Organization, (7) Biographical, (8) Academic. As might have been expected the medieval sections are by far the largest. They occupy together nearly half the volume, the three following sections filling two-thirds of the remainder. Broadly speaking, the first of them, the "Medieval Agrarian" section, is concerned with the mark. Its opening essay, on "English Serfdom," surveys the external history of the "mark dogma" down to the appearance of Vinogradoff's Villainage in England; and the subsequent progress of knowledge upon that and related subjects is indicated by a baker's dozen of brief reviews. The essay itself exhibits the author at his best. It is clearly thought and persuasively written. The general reader is likely to be left with scarcely more doubt where the truth lies than is felt by Mr. Ashley himself; and as to the mark, at least, Mr. Ashley's convictions are positive. But the same reader will probably wish that the author had worked into his essay what is important in the following reviews, instead of printing them at length. Iterated disbelief, even in the Teutonic freeman, becomes wearisome. Mr. Ashley has hit the hypothetical head of that worthy wherever he saw it. He has hit hard and straight; and it is, perhaps, poor-spirited not to share his gaudium certaminis. But after all, why march us up and down among the slain? Why should not the author act upon his own conviction (p. 166) that "since the appearance of M. Fustel de Coulanges' detailed examination of von Maurer's alleged authorities the mark doctrine . . . ought to be too dead to be longer attacked "?-especially since it is not clear that even Maitland has shaken his confidence in the servile origin of the manor.

In form, the "Medieval Urban" group is like its predecessor. But the ten reviews which follow its introductory essay on "The Beginnings of Town Life in the Middle Ages," do not produce the same impression of possible superfluity, because Mr. Ashley is here content to offer a clear and impartial survey of recent theories as to the origin of medieval towns, without giving in his own adherence to any one of them.

The section entitled "Economic Opinion" consists, in addition to two brief reviews, of an admirable article on "The Tory Origin of Free Trade"; it shows convincingly that Sir Dudley North and the other eighteenth-century pamphleteers in whose "liberal" doctrines McCulloch found evidence of preternatural enlightenment, were, in fact, merely playing the game of politics against the Whig prohibition of 1678, and were by no means free traders in the "orthodox" sense—than which nothing more illuminating has been written on economic opinion in eighteenth-century England.

The next section opens with a lecture on "The Colonial Legislation of England and the American Colonies" which was delivered before the University of Oxford in January, 1899, and published in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* for November of the same year. It argues that the grievances inflicted upon the colonists by the Acts of Trade have been

greatly exaggerated. The Navigation Laws proper protected colonial shipping and ship-building quite as much, and restricted them no more, than they did English. The laws requiring that "enumerated commodities" be exported to England only, and those forbidding certain manfactures in the colonies, worked no real hardship, because they jumped with the economic conditions then prevailing. Our products were chiefly agricultural, and for these we found a ready sale in England. We had neither the capital, the labor, nor the technical knowledge necessary to establish manufactures. In these respects the commercial relations of England and America would not have been much different if there had been no Acts of Trade at all. Even the Act of 1663, requiring that commodities the growth or manufacture of Europe be shipped to the colonies only from England and in English bottoms, did not hamper the Americans, since England was their natural entrepôt.

To this last pleading a demurrer was promptly filed by a critic who conceded the other points.1 In his view Mr. Ashley's is an à priori argument, and must fall before the abundant evidence of illicit trade in the colonies. Against his attack Mr. Ashley now defends his position in a paper on "American Smuggling, 1660-1760." He admits the weakness of the original à priori argument, and seeks to strengthen it by pointing out that "American imports from England, far from diminishing when the War of Independence was over-as we should expect if the obligation to buy in England had been a serious grievance—actually increased" (p. 344). They did so. According to the official figures they amounted, on a six years' average ending in 1792, to £2,807,306 against only  $f_{2,216,824}$  on a six years' average ending in 1774. the absolute amount is less significant than the rate of increase. figures show a growth of less than 28 per cent. in eighteen years. now we compare the value of goods imported on a ten years' average ending in 1730, with those imported on a ten years' average ending in 1710, we find an increase of 76 per cent. in twenty years. Similarly for 1740 of 81 per cent., for 1750 of 72 per cent., for 1760 of 130 per cent., for 1770 of 113 per cent. Thus it appears that imports from England still increased after the Revolution, but at a diminished rate. If the figures warrant any inference at all (which may be doubted), it is that Americans bought less and not more goods in England after the war than they might have done had they remained subject to the Acts of Trade. The figures, then, seem rather to weaken than to strengthen the à priori argument.

Mr. Ashley next takes up the illicit trade itself. Here he draws needed distinctions between that which was, and that which was not, in violation of the Acts of Trade. We must eliminate: (1) trade with pirates and in violation of the East Indian Company's monopoly, (2) supplies sold to the King's enemies in time of war, and (3) smuggling to evade colonial tariffs (all three being forms of trade as illegal for Englishmen as for colonists) in order to find the residue which alone can

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A. H. Johnson, in *Economic Journal*, 96.

be cited as evidence of the oppressive character of the Acts of Trade. It is impossible in a review to follow Mr. Ashley into the detailed consideration from which he concludes that their residue was small. devotes most space to the apparent confirmation of his conclusions by Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the American States (first ed., 1783, sixth, 1784). Now Sheffield was opposed to a treaty with the United States. So he asserted that England would hold the trade of the Americans without it. His reason was that the Americans could not buy what they wanted on better terms of any other nation. This he attempted to prove by taking up the various articles severally, making abundant use of such phrases as "a great," "very great," "inconsiderable," "not of capital amount." But, with one exception, to be noted presently, he gives no figures. To call him in amounts to little more than saying that somebody else, and that a person not free from suspicion of political interest, had anticipated Mr. Ashley's à priori argument. The argument is, perhaps, somewhat strengthened by Sheffield's authority, but it is by no means rendered conclusive. It still remains true, as Mr. Ashley says, that the point at issue cannot be settled "until the economic history of New England [and the other colonies] has been subjected to a more thorough and scholarly investigation than it has yet received" (p. 337), for here, as in nearly all departments of international trade, it is a question of relative values, of the proportion [author's italics] of the illicit importation of European goods to the total importation" (p. 341). And on this crucial question Sheffield gives us one, and but one bit of precise information. In the years 1767-1770 nineteen per cent. of English exports to the colonies were commodities of foreign origin, over eleven per cent. of the whole being East Indian, and less than eight per cent., presumably, European goods. Mr. Ashley quotes the figures in a foot-note, apparently regarding them as a measure of the colonists' small demand for European goods. they might also be interpreted as indicating the extent to which such goods were smuggled direct.

The three remaining sections of the book are predominantly not historical. The volume is handsomely printed, in clear type, upon paper which, though surprisingly light in weight, is opaque, of a pleasant dead finish, and takes ink admirably. The table of contents is very full, but that by no means atones for the absence of an index.

CHARLES H. HULL.

History of the New World Called America. By Edward John Payne, Fellow of University College, Oxford. Vol. II. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1899. Pp. xxviii, 604.)

The second volume of Payne's *History* is entirely devoted to an ethnographic account of the aborigines, or, as they are now termed by anthropologists, the Amerinds. The opening pages contain an essay upon military organization and advancement and the creation of an